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RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7050
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 BRUSSELS 05369

DEPARTMENT FOR AF, AF/C, AND EUR/NE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, PREF, EAID, BE, FR, UN, RW, BY
SUBJECT: RWANDA PORTION OF MAY 13 TRILATERAL MEETING
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REF: KINSHASA 2683

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

SUMMARY

2. MAY 13 TRILATERAL DISCUSSION MEETING REVEALED BROAD
AGREEMENT ON CONDITIONS ON THE GROUND, ON NEED TO

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 13 MAY 2016
DATE/CASE ID: 06 MAY 2011 201005065

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ESTABLISH A DURABLE AND MEANINGFUL CEASE FIRE AND STOP THE MASSACRES, ON URGENCY OF STOPPING ARMS FLOW TO BOTH SIDES, AND ON INVOLVING RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS IN THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

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3. THE MAY 13 TRILATERALS WERE ATTENDED BY BELGIAN MFA CHEF DE CABINET, LODE WILLEMS, DIRECTOR FOR SUBSAHARAN AFRICA, WIL JAENEN, BELGIAN AMBASSADOR TO RWANDA, JOHAN SWINNEN, AND BAUDOUIN FONTAINE, COUNSELOR FOR CENTRAL AFRICAN AFFAIRS. THE FRENCH DELEGATION CONSISTED OF JEAN MARC DE LA SABLIERE, QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, CLAIRE LIGNIERES, QUAI DESK OFFICER AT THE BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS, AND CECILE POZZO DI BORGO, FIRST SECRETARY, FRENCH EMBASSY IN BRUSSELS. THE USG SIDE WAS REPRESENTED BY A/S MOOSE, AMB. DAVID RAWSON, ZAIRE DESK OFFICER TERRY MCCULLEY, EMBASSY PARIS AFRICA WATCHER HOWARD PERLOW, AND EMBASSY BRUSSELS POLOFF JEANNETTE P. DUBROW

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BELGIAN APPRAISAL OF SITUATION

4. CHEF DE CABINET LODE WILLEMS OPENED THE SESSION BY PRESENTING THE GOB'S ANALYSIS OF THE GROUND SITUATION, EFFORTS TO INSTITUTE A CEASEFIRE, UNSC AND REGIONAL ENDEAVORS TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS, AND BELGIAN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE REGION.

5. THE GOB, WILLEMS SAID, CONSIDERS THE SITUATION IN KIGALI PARTICULARLY WORRISOME. THERE ARE AT LEAST THREE VULNERABLE POPULATIONS THAT MUST BE PROTECTED: AT AMHORO STADIUM, KING FAISAL HOSPITAL AND AT THE MILLES COLLINES HOTEL. THE FATE OF SABENA EMPLOYEES AT THE MILLES COLLINES IS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN. THERE MAY BE OTHER GROUPS, AS YET UNIDENTIFIED, NEEDING PROTECTION.

6. UNILATERAL CEASEFIRES HAVE NOT BEEN RESPECTED, WILLEMS SAID. THE QUESTION NOW WAS HOW TO BRING ABOUT AN EFFECTIVE END TO THE VIOLENCE. ALBEIT THE RPF IS PROBABLY NOT ABLE TO HOLD THE ENTIRE COUNTRY, THE GOB BELIEVES THE RPF IS IN A CONQUERING MOOD AND INTENDS TO CAPTURE KIGALI. AS THE RPF WILL NOT DEAL WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, WE MUST DETERMINE WHO CAN SIGN A CEASEFIRE THE

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RPF WILL ACCEPT. IN ANY DISCUSSION OF A CEASEFIRE, THE TRILATERAL MUST ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF ARMS DELIVERIES AND A STRATEGY TO CUT OFF WEAPONS' ACCESS BY BOTH SIDES.

7. THE UNSC HAD HELD INFORMAL DISCUSSION ON 5/12 AND THE GOB IS INTERESTED IN CLARIFYING THE TREND OF UN EFFORTS. WILLEMS ASKED IF THE USG AND FRANCE HAD A SENSE OF THE

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SUPPORT THAT WILL BE FORTHCOMING AND OF THE CONTENTS OF THE RESOLUTION NOW UNDER CONSIDERATION? WILLEMS SAID THAT IF WE ENCOURAGED RESUMPTION OF THE ARUSHA PROCESS, WE SHOULD AGREE BEFOREHAND ON THE APPROACH AND ROLES OF THE TRILATERAL.

8. FINALLY, WILLEMS QUICKLY REVIEWED BELGIUM'S HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO DATE. THE GOB, HE SAID, HAD PROVIDED A TRANCHE OF BF 100 MILLION (APPROXIMATELY USDOLS 3 MILLION) AND MIGHT BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE AIR

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LIFT. NO FINAL DECISION HAS BEEN MADE BY THE GOB YET,
HOWEVER.

FRANCE AGREES BUT WANTS ZAIRE INVOLVED IN REGIONAL EFFORT

9. DE LA SABLIERE AGREED WITH WILLEMS' ANALYSIS OF THE
GROUND SITUATION. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE RPF HAD NOT
YET MADE A DECISIVE BREAKTHROUGH IN KIGALI BUT WANTED TO
SECURE THE CAPITAL.

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10. FRENCH POLICY, ACCORDING TO DE LA SABLIERE, HAS TWO
OBJECTIVES: STOP THE MASSACRES AND OBTAIN A CEASEFIRE.
THE LATTER COULD ONLY BE DONE THROUGH THE UN AND RWANDA'S
NEIGHBORS. FRANCE, HE EXPLAINED, FAVORS THE IDEA OF A

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11. TURNING TO THE ONGOING UN DELIBERATIONS ON ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION, DE LA SABLIERE EXPRESSED GOF SKEPTICISM OVER THE MANDATE'S CONCEPT OF USING "LEGITIMATE SELF-DEFENSE" AS JUSTIFICATION FOR ALLOWING USE OF FORCE TO PROTECT PERSONS. IN ADDITION TO THIS CONCERNS, FRANCE WANTS ANY RESOLUTION TO INCLUDE AN OPTION TO INVESTIGATE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, LAUNCH AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CRASH, AND ESTABLISH AN ARMS EMBARGO.

12. ON THE HUMANITARIAN FRONT, FRANCE WAS HEAVILY ENGAGED IN AIDING REGIONAL EFFORTS IN BURUNDI AND TANZANIA, AS WELL AS SUPPORTING ICRC AND THE WFP. APPROXIMATELY F20 MILLION HAD BEEN CONTRIBUTED SO FAR AND FRANCE HAD LAUNCHED AIR LIFT OPERATIONS, AS WELL AS PUT A BOEING 707 AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE HCR.

US PROPOSES CROSS BORDER OPERATION TO INCREASE CHANCES OF OBTAINING MEANINGFUL CEASEFIRE AND RESUMPTION OF POLITICAL PROCESS

13. IN RESPONSE TO REQUESTS FOR THE USG ANALYSIS, A/S MOOSE EXPRESSED SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT WITH THE ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY SITUATION.

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14. THE REASONING BEHIND THE USG PROPOSAL FOR A UN OPERATION WITH A HUMANITARIAN COMPONENT IS THE FACT THAT THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF PEOPLE STILL AT RISK BEHIND THE LINES. WITH NO QUICK CEASEFIRE IN SIGHT, CROSS BORDER OPERATIONS, PROTECTION OF BORDER ENCLAVES AROUND UGANDA, TANZANIA, BURUNDI, AND OF POCKETS AROUND BUTARE, CYANGULU, AND CITIES IN SW RWANDA MUST BE IMPLEMENTED. WE HAVE INDICATIONS FROM BOTH THE RWANDAN MILITARY AND THE RPF THAT THESE PROPOSALS MAY BE ACCEPTABLE TO THEM. FURTHERMORE, SUCH AN INITIATIVE COULD ACTUALLY INCREASE THE CHANCES OF A DURABLE CEASEFIRE. THE RPF MAY BE MORE AMENABLE TO A CEASEFIRE IF IT IS REASONABLY SURE PEOPLE BEHIND THE LINES ARE PROTECTED.

15. A/S MOOSE ADDED THAT FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT A CEASEFIRE RISKED INCREASING THE THREAT TO BURUNDI. ADDITIONAL REFUGEES FLEEING INTO BURUNDI, AS WELL AS CONTINUED FIGHTING IN RWANDA, COULD PROVOKE BOTH SIDES IN BURUNDI. ANY OPERATIONS UNDERTAKEN IN RWANDA WOULD HAVE TO BE HANDLED VERY CAREFULLY.

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16. THE USG AGREES THE REGION'S STATES NEED TO BE ENGAGED IN PRESSURING BOTH SIDES TO END THE KILLINGS. WE THUS SEE THE MERITS OF A REGIONAL SUMMIT AND HOPE IT WILL PRESSURE RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS TO REFRAIN FROM PROVIDING ARMS TO THE COMBATANTS. IN THAT REGARD, WE SEE THE MERIT OF IMPLICATING ZAIRE IN THE PROCESS. THE TANZANIANS, HOWEVER, REMAIN THE BEST PLACED TO FURTHER THE EFFORT TO RESUME ARUSHA, OR ITS EQUIVALENT. (COMMENT. ALTHOUGH THE GOB ACCEPTED THE NEED TO INVOLVE ZAIRE IN THE REGIONAL EFFORT TO STEM THE FLOW OF ARMS, WILLEMS EXPRESSED DISQUIET OVER THE POSSIBILITY OF ALLOWING MOBUTU TO PLAY TOO PROMINENT A ROLE IN THE REGIONAL PROCESS. THE TANZANIANS, ACCORDING TO WILLEMS, STILL CARRIED THE GREATEST WEIGHT. END COMMENT.)

17. IN RESPONSE TO WILLEMS' APPEAL FOR ACTION TO PROTECT THE THREE GROUPS IN KIGALI, AMB. MOOSE ACKNOWLEDGED THE USG PLAN DID NOT DEAL WITH THESE THREE SITES. WE HAVE BEEN IN REPEATED CONTACT WITH BIZIMUNGU AND HAVE INSISTED HE PASS A MESSAGE TO THE RWANDA PRESIDENT AND THE ARMY TO FACILITATE THE EVACUATION OF THESE THREE GROUPS. AMB. MOOSE ASKED THE TRILATERAL CONSIDER A JOINT APPROACH TO BOTH SIDES URGING THE EVACUATION OF THE THREATENED.

18. THE USG UNDERSTANDS AND AGREES THAT THE UNSC RESOLUTION SHOULD CONTAIN A REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS. OUR VIEW IS THAT THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IS THE APPROPRIATE FORUM TO TAKE UP THIS MATTER. WE SHOULD ALLOW AYALA LASSO TO ADVISE US FURTHER.

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BELGIUM ENDORSES SESSION OF UNHCR, URGES EVACUATION OF
THREATENED GROUPS, AND ADVOCATES EVENHANDED APPROACH TO
BOTH SIDES

19. WILLEMS ADDED THE GOB FULLY ENDORSED THE CANADIAN REQUEST FOR A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND INCLUSION, IN THE UNSC RESOLUTION, OF A

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REFERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. WILLEMS SAID IT WAS
HARD TO OVERESTIMATE THE IMPACT OF THE MURDER OF 10
BELGIAN PEACEKEEPERS ON BELGIAN PUBLIC OPINION.

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] BELGIUM, HE SAID,
WOULD REQUEST THAT ANY RESOLUTION INCLUDE AN INQUIRY INTO
THE MURDERS OF THE PARAS.

20. BELGIUM, HE SAID, SUPPORTS THE USG IDEA OF JOINT
APPROACHES TO THE GOR AND THE RWANDAN ARMY TO FACILITATE
THE EVACUATION OF THE THREE THREATENED GROUPS IN KIGALI.
THESE THREE GROUPS WERE BECOMING A SYMBOL OF EVERYTHING
THAT HAD GONE WRONG IN RWANDA. WE COULD NOT ALLOW THEM TO
BE MASSACRED.

21. DE LA SABLIERE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE SAYING "EVERY LIFE
WAS WORTH SAVING" BUT ADDED THE THREE SIGHTS BUT NOT BE
ALLOWED TO SYMBOLIZE THE ENTIRE RWANDAN PROBLEM. THE
MASSACRES ARE INTOLERABLE TO THE GOF. IT WILL THUS BE
VERY IMPORTANT TO TRY TO DETERMINE WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR
THE PRESIDENT'S DEATH AND THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE
KILLINGS. ALTHOUGH THE GOF HAS MADE CERTAIN ASSUMPTIONS,
IT HAS NO PROOF. FRENCH ANALYSIS IS THAT THE HARDLINE
HUTU MILITIAS HAVE CONDUCTED VERY LARGE OPERATIONS OF AN
"ETHNIC CHARACTER".

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[REDACTED]
22. WILLEMS COUNTERED THAT POLICY OF THE TRILATERAL
SHOULD BE EVENHANDED. THE GOB, FOR ITS PART, INTENDED TO
REMAIN BALANCED, IN SPITE OF PROBLEMS WITH THE INTERIM
GOVERNMENT. JAENEN'S DEALINGS WITH THE RPF (WHEN THEY
OCCURRED) WERE NOT INDULGENT ("SANS COMPLAISANCE"). THE
GOR, NONETHELESS, HAD TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE
MASSACRES.

23. AMB. MOOSE CONFIRMED OUR INFORMATION ON THE MASSACRES
TALLIED WITH THAT OF THE GOF. WE HAVE RECEIVED CREDIBLE

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ANY ARMS EMBARGO MUST BE MONITORED ON BOTH SIDES

24. IMPOSITION OF AN EFFECTIVE ARMS EMBARGO IS A MATTER OF
CONCERN TO THE GOF, DE LA SABLIERE SAID. IT IS IMPORTANT
BOTH UGANDA AND ZAIRE BE CONTROLLED.

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25. AMB. MOOSE AGREED, SAYING EVERYTHING IS RELATED IN OUR
EFFORTS TO GET A CEASEFIRE IMPLEMENTED. THE ABILITY TO
PROTECT THOSE BEHIND THE LINES WILL HELP CONVINCE MUSEVENTI
TO RESPECT THE ARMS EMBARGO. AMB. MOOSE CONFIRMED GEN.
DALLAIRE HAD BEEN TRYING TO OBTAIN THE COOPERATION OF THE
FIELD COMMANDERS TO INSTITUTE A CEASEFIRE. HE HAD NOT

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SUCCEEDED YET, HOWEVER. IN RESPONSE TO WILLEMS' QUESTION ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE OAU, AMB. MOOSE REPLIED SALIM SALIM HAD ACKNOWLEDGED DURING THEIR MEETING THE OAU IS NOT CAPABLE OF MOUNTING SUCH AN OPERATION. IT WILL, THEREFORE, HAVE TO BE A UN EFFORT.

 MUST CULTIVATE ANY SURVIVING MODERATES

26. THE TRILATERAL AGREED AN EFFORT MUST BE MADE TO GET BOTH SIDES TO TALK TO EACH OTHER. DE LA SABLIERE SAID THEY HAD RECEIVED REPORTS THERE WERE SOME MODERATES IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. THEY, PLUS ANY MODERATES WHO HAD

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SURVIVED, SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED IN THEIR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE RECONCILIATION. IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT TO KNOW WHO HAD MANAGED TO ESCAPE. IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO PURSUE, THROUGH ANY MEANS STILL AVAILABLE, CONTACTS WITH MODERATES IN THE ARMY AND THE GOVERNMENT WHO WOULD BE WILLING TO TALK.

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COMMENT

27. CONSIDERING THAT THERE ARE FAIRLY STRONGLY HELD AND OFTEN OPPOSING VIEWS BETWEEN FRANCE AND BELGIUM, THE MEETING PRODUCED REMARKABLE CONSENSUS ON WHAT OUR EVENTUAL GOALS SHOULD BE IN RWANDA: STOPPING THE KILLINGS, OBTAINING A CEASEFIRE, MOUNTING AND PROTECTING LARGE-SCALE HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS, AND EVENTUALLY RESTARTING THE

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POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT PROCESS. END COMMENT.

28. THIS MESSAGE WAS CLEARED BY A/S MOOSE BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE.

29. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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